

*22. E. H. Geden
from Mass. Trade*

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN KANSAS. *met*

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY WILSON,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 18, 1856.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PUBLISHED BY THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

1856.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON.

A message from the President of the United States was received by the Senate, enclosing a report from the Secretary of State, on the existing state of affairs in Kansas

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. TOLCEY] closes his speech with the assumption, that there may be those in the country who do not wish the President to preserve order; and he is pleased to say that, if the Executive does so, their "vocation" will be gone. Let me say to the Senator from Connecticut, that the "vocation" of those to whom he alludes is not fawning, abject servility to power. No, sir, they do not

— "bend to power, and lap its milk."

If the Senator from Connecticut alludes to those who have opposed the uncalled-for and wanton repeal of the Missouri prohibition; if he alludes to those who condemn the policy of the Administration in Kansas; if he intends to charge the intelligent, patriotic men who sympathize with the wronged and outraged people of Kansas, bravely struggling to preserve their firesides and altars, their property and lives, against the armed aggressions of lawless invasions from Missouri, with a disposition to violate or resist the laws of the country, or to cherish sectional animosity and strife, he makes a charge unsupported by even the shadow of truth; and here, and now to his face, and before the Senate and the country, I pronounce the charge utterly unfounded. If he intends, sir, to insinuate a charge of that character against me, I promptly meet it, and here and now before the Senate I brand it as it deserves.

The Senator from Connecticut, with an air of confident assurance, calls for facts. Evidently possessed with the vast knowledge embodied in these documents sent here by the Executive, the Senator assumes the air and tone of one entitled to speak by authority, and he invites us to deal in facts. Sir, he shall have facts; for it so happens that the friends of those who are struggling in Kansas to protect their lives, their property, their all, against unauthorized power and lawless violence, know something of the facts which have transpired there. All knowledge, sir, of

affairs in Kansas is not in the keeping of the Executive and his Senator from Connecticut. The tree of knowledge, sir, was not planted in the Executive garden; and I sometimes think, if it had been, its forbidden fruits would have been more secure than were the fruits of that tree plucked by our first parents.

The Senator from Connecticut commends us to the consideration of this correspondence; and the Senator from California [Mr. WELLER] asks us to print ten thousand extra copies of it, to be scattered broadcast over the land. I now say—and I can establish what I say before any committee of investigation, so that no man can question the declaration—that this correspondence utterly and totally misstates and misrepresents the state of affairs in Kansas. These documents, sir, are made up of telegraphic dispatches, of letters, of statements, of orders, written by Governor Shannon and others, on the rumors of the hour, in a large Territory, at a time when the people were deeply agitated by all sorts of reports that flew over the land in rapid succession. We are called upon now to publish these rumors—rumors that turned out to be exaggerated or false—rumors recognised and admitted to be false by the Governor of the Territory, in his conversation and in his treaty with the citizens of Lawrence. Yes, sir, the Senate is now called upon to print and send over the country, as official documents, these stupendous misrepresentations of facts. They will carry a gigantic falsehood to the American people. He who reads only these documents has no accurate knowledge, no true conception, of the actual condition of affairs in Kansas at the time covered by them.

The year of 1854 opened upon a vast territory, lying in the heart of the continent, extending from thirty-six degrees thirty minutes on the south, to the possessions of the British Queen on the north; from the borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, on the east, to the summits of the Rocky Mountains on the west. Over that territory, larger than the empire of Napoleon when, at the head of the grand army, he gazed upon

that "ocean of flame" that wrapt the minarets, turrets, and towers, of the ancient capital of the Czars, the Republic, on the 6th of March, 1820, engraved in letters of living light the sacred words, "Slavery shall be and is forever prohibited!" Slavery, with hungry gaze, glared upon the forest and prairie, hill and mountain, lake and river, of that magnificent region it was forever forbidden to enter. Fixing its glittering eye upon that paradise, consecrated by the nation to Freedom and free institutions for all, hallowed forever to free men and free labor, the Slave Power, in the person of the late President of the Senate, the soul of these border aggressions, demanded that this heritage of free labor should be opened to the withering footsteps of the bondman. Sir, with hot haste you grasped this domain of Freedom, and flung it to the Slave Propaganda. Sir, your Administration, in answer to the stern protest of the free laboring men of the country, whose heritage it was, mocked them with the delusive promise that the actual settlers were to shape, mould, and fashion the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska. Sir, two years have passed, and your "squatter sovereignty" is proved a delusion and a cheat. Laws, more inhuman than the code of Draco, forced upon the actual settlers of Kansas by armed invading hosts from Missouri, are now to be enforced by United States dragoons. The Constitution, framed by a Convention of the People, is spurned from the halls of Congress; the Convention that formed it is pronounced "spurious" by the Senator from Connecticut; and the people who ratified it are branded as traitors by the Administration and its subalterns.

By the theory of the Kansas-Nebraska act, Mr. President, the actual settlers were to decide the transcendent question, whether Freedom should bless, or Slavery curse, the virgin soil of those vast Territories lying in the central regions of the continent. The sons of the free States—of Puritan New England, of the great central States, and of the Northwest—men who call no man master, and who wish to make no man a slave, were invited to plant upon the soil of Kansas those institutions that have blessed, beautified, and adorned the homes of their childhood. The sons of the South—from regions once teeming with the rich fruits of fields, now blasted, blighted, and withered, by the sweat of untutored and unrewarded toil—were invited to plant, if they could, the institutions that had dishonored labor in their own native States, upon the unbroken soil of Kansas. Sir, the people of the North and the people of the South had a legal and moral right to go there, when they pleased, how they pleased, and with whom they pleased; in companies or in single families; under their own direction, or under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, in the North or the South.

Sir, the honorable Senator from Missouri, [Mr. GAYNE,] in his remarks the other day upon the resolution of inquiry submitted by me, made the extraordinary declaration that the "disorders" which he admits have existed on the borders "are to be attributed to an extraordinary organization, called an 'Emigrant Aid Society'—the first

attempt in the history of this country to take possession of an organized Territory, and exclude from it the inhabitants of other portions of the Union." I am amazed that the Senator from Missouri should make such a declaration on the floor of the Senate. When and how did the "Emigrant Aid Society" "attempt to take possession of an organized Territory, and to exclude from it the inhabitants of other portions of the Union?" Will the Senator tell us when that "attempt" was made? Will he tell us where it was made? Will he tell us how it was made? Here and now I challenge the Senator to give us one single fact to sustain the declaration he has so unjustly made against men of stainless purity. The Senator avows that men from his State "have passed over the borders," but they have done so (he tells us) "to protect the ballot-box from the attempt of armed colonists to control the elections there." When and how were the ballot-boxes assailed by "armed colonists" from the North? I call upon the Senator from Missouri, I challenge any Senator, to furnish one fact, one single authenticated fact, to sustain this assumption.

Sir, the Emigrant Aid Society of New England has violated no law, human or divine. Standing here, sir, before the Senate and the country, I challenge the Senator from Missouri, or any other Senator, to furnish to the Senate one fact, one authenticated fact, to show that the Emigrant Aid Society has performed any illegal act, any act inconsistent with the obligations of patriotism, morality, or religion. Sir, the President of the United States has arraigned before the country these Emigrant Aid Societies. The organs of the Administration have assailed them, and now the Senator from Missouri here, on the floor of the Senate, renews the assault. Sir, I call upon, I defy any supporter of the Administration, any apologist of Atchison, Stringfellow, and their followers, to give us one act of the directors of the New England Emigrant Aid Society hostile to law, order, and peace. I know most of these gentlemen thus wantonly assailed, and I know them to be law-abiding, order-loving, conservative men. I defy the Senator from Missouri, the Senator from Connecticut, or the Chief Magistrate at the other end of the avenue, to show, here or elsewhere, that the Emigrant Aid Society ever violated a law of this country, or performed an act which could not receive the sanction of the laws of God and man. Sir, they have sent no paupers or criminals to Kansas. They have simply organized a system by which persons wishing to go to Kansas may go in small companies, and, by going together and starting at a particular time and place, may have the cost of their fare reduced about thirty-three per cent. This company has built a hotel in Kansas; has sent some saw-mills there; has aided in establishing schools and churches. That is the extent of their offence—no more, no less.

Mr. President, on the 29th of July, 1854, within sixty days after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, a meeting was called at Weston, Missouri, by the "Platte County Self-Defensive Association." Resolutions were adopted, declaring

that the association, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, will hold itself in readiness to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies.

Before the feet of the first emigrants who went there under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society pressed the soil of Kansas, this "Platte County Self-Defensive Association," under the guidance of B. F. Stringfellow, proclaimed to the world its readiness to cross into Kansas and remove actual settlers from their new homes. Under the lead of this lawless association, other meetings were held in Western Missouri, and resolutions adopted in favor of carrying Slavery into Kansas, and in denunciation of emigrants from the free States who should go there under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Societies.

On the 9th of August, more than two months after the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed, a few persons went into that Territory from the East. They went there under the auspices of that society referred to the other day so unjustly by the Senator from Missouri. Early in the autumn of 1854, the Missouri guardians of Kansas crossed over into the Territory, and, by force of arms, endeavored to drive from their homes the few persons who had begun the little settlement at Lawrence. But these Platte County Association heroes found a little band of about thirty New England men, under the lead of Charles Robinson—the Miles Standish of Kansas—ready to meet the issue with powder and ball; and they retreated to their homes, preferring to live to fight another day.

The Senator from Connecticut referred with an air of triumph to the election which took place on the 29th day of November, 1854. On that day, Mr. Whitfield was elected—and triumphantly elected—a Delegate from that Territory. No one ever questioned the fact that he had a majority of the legal voters of the Territory on that day; but, in addition to that fact, men familiar with the Territory declare that he received the votes of more than one thousand inhabitants of Missouri, who crossed the line and voted on that occasion.

I hold in my hand, sir, a paper drawn up and signed by General Pomeroy—a gentleman of intelligence, of personal honor, whose veracity no man who knows him can ever question. From this memorial, addressed to Congress, I quote the following words concerning the election of the 29th of November, 1854:

"The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impetuous force. So bold and reckless were our invaders, that they dared not to conceal their attack. They came upon us, not in the guise of voters, to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly, to snatch it with a strong arm. They came directly from their own homes and in compact and organized bands, with arms in hand and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and, when their work was done, returned whence they came. It is unnecessary to enter into the details; it is enough to say that in three districts, in which, by the most irrefragable evidence, there were not one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in the mockery of the elective franchise, these invaders polled over a thousand votes."

An examination of details will reveal the extent of this fraud. In the seventh election district of

Kansas, six hundred and four votes were cast on the 29th of November, 1854. Of these, Whitfield received five hundred and ninety-seven—all but seven. Three months afterwards the census was taken, and there were only fifty-three voters in the seventh district. Who went there to vote? Organized, armed, disciplined men from the State of Missouri; and all the votes but seven in that district were given for Mr. Whitfield. Does the Senator from Missouri call that "protecting the ballot-box against armed colonists?" In the eleventh district, on the same day, two hundred and thirty-seven votes were given. In February following, when the census was taken, there were but twenty-four voters in that district, which, three months before, had given Whitfield two hundred and thirty-seven votes—all but three of the whole number cast. And within thirty days after the census was taken, three hundred and twenty-eight votes were given in this district, having only twenty-four voters; yet the Senator from Missouri gravely informs the Senate that Missourians only crossed over the borders "to protect the ballot-boxes against armed colonists" sent there under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies. That these Missourians crossed the line and voted on that day for Whitfield, no one doubted; but he had a majority of the voters of the Territory, and for that reason his election was not contested. That is the answer to the Senator from Connecticut, who has built his argument on that fact.

The character of this invasion will appear in an extract from a speech made by one of these modern heroes, (General Stringfellow,) who, according to the Senator from Missouri, crosses over into Kansas "to protect the ballot-boxes from the armed colonists" from the free States. This speech was made just before the election of November 29, 1854, to which the Senator from Connecticut has referred with so much confidence, at St. Joseph, Missouri. In that speech, General Stringfellow said:

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is the least tainted with Free-Soilism or Abolitionism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the damned rascal. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so that you may crush them out."

"Crush them out" is the language. You will remember, sir, that the Attorney General of the United States—a man who spent the dew of his youth and the vigor of his early manhood in assailing Democratic statesmen, and who is now giving the mature years of his life to undermining and perverting Democratic principles—sent an edict to Massachusetts, pending the election in 1853, that the President "was up to the occasion," and intended "to crush out the element of Abolitionism." General Stringfellow, like the President, is "up to the occasion." He has caught up the word of the Attorney General. He is going to mark the Free-Soilers, he says, that you may "crush them out." I think his success, sir, will be about equal to the success which followed the efforts of the President and General Cushing, in "crushing out the element of Abolitionism." The elections of the last two years have shown

who is the crusher and who is the crushed. General Stringfellow continues:

"To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

"Qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National!" No, sir, that will never do! "Such impositions must be disregarded!" "Every election district in Kansas must be entered by one and all," and they must "vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver!" Is that the way these border gentlemen pass over the line, according to the Senator from Missouri, "to protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists?"

"Qualms of conscience about violating laws, State or National," were given up, and they "entered into every election district in Kansas, in spite of the proclamation of Reeder," and made the election of Whitfield doubly sure. The Senate will remember that the Senator from Missouri assures us that Missourians only crossed the borders "to protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists" from the East. Sir, I commend to the especial consideration of the Senator from Missouri the advice of General Stringfellow, to give up all "qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National," and to "enter every election district in Kansas." Is that the way Missourians "protect the ballot-boxes over the borders?"

Mr. BUTLER. Allow me to ask the Senator's authority for the remarks of General Stringfellow.

Mr. WILSON. I quote from a speech made by General Stringfellow, published in a Western Missouri paper, republished throughout the country, and never denied by him. General Stringfellow has since said, in a letter to the people of the South, that if the Missourians had gone into Kansas and ruled it once, they could do it again. The men in Western Missouri who were the first to accept the advice of their leader, do not deny these things. They openly proclaim their intentions, and act upon them. Sir, I can respect the frankness of crime, much more than the wriggling efforts, by apology, innuendo, and assertion, to falsify facts and to impeach the innocent.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not intend to deny anything that General Stringfellow assumed to say. I know General Stringfellow very well, and I presume he would stand up to-morrow and face the music. I do not suppose that he would retreat, nor do I deny anything which is imputed to him, except, it may be, the bad taste of the language used in what the Senator has read. [Laughter.] As to his whipping Reeder, everybody knows it. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON. Well, sir, I do not wish to contend with the Senator about the taste of this border hero.

I proceed now with the facts. The census of Kansas was taken, by the direction of Governor Reeder, in February, 1855; and then there were eight thousand five hundred inhabitants, and two thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven legal voters, in the Territory. At the ensuing election—on the 30th of March, 1855—four thousand voters from the State of Missouri passed into that Territory, and gave their votes. Lawrence, according to the census, was titled to less than five hundred votes. But, sir, nine hundred and fifty were cast, although nearly one half the legal voters of Lawrence, if we are to believe the testimony of some of their most respectable citizens, refused to vote on that day. More than eight hundred Missourians, armed to the teeth, led by Colonel Young, a lawyer of Western Missouri, went to Lawrence, the home of the New England men so often assailed and so much misrepresented in the documents before us. Colonel Young made a speech, declaring that he would vote or would shed his blood. He took the precaution, however, to swear in his vote. He had more regard for his life than he had for his conscience.

Mr. YULEE. Will the Senator excuse me for a moment?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly.

Mr. YULEE. I have been listening with much interest to the Senator's remarks, and I desire to ask him, as he proceeds with his statements of fact, to refer us to the authority on which he relies.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I state what I have said on the authority of Mr. Hutchinson, a lawyer of Lawrence, and a rejected Free State member of the Legislature of Kansas, elected in 1855, and now present in the Senate Chamber—a man, sir, of intelligence, of conscience, and of character. And what he says is confirmed by the memorial of General Pomeroy, to which I have referred, setting forth certain facts which transpired on that day. I will read what this gentleman says in regard to the Lawrence district:

"In the Lawrence district, speeches were made to them by leading residents of Missouri, in which it was said that they would carry their purpose, if need be, at the point of the bayonet and bowie-knife; and one voter was fired at, as he was driven from the election ground. Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some two hundred men were drafted from the number, and sent off, under their proper officers, to another district; after which, they still polled from this camp over seven hundred votes."

General Pomeroy says that in the fourth and seventh districts, along the Santa Fe road,

"The invaders came together in one armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides ho semen, and the night before election, pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls; and, having appointed their own judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence. In these two election districts, where the census shows one hundred voters, there were polled three hundred and fourteen votes."

In the Leavenworth district, hundreds of men breakfasted in Missouri, voted in Kansas, and returned on the same day to Missouri. While the voting was going on, one of their leaders made a speech, in which he told the Platte county boys that they must stand aside, and let the Clay county boys vote first, because they had the fur-

threat to go in returning to their homes; and the Platte county boys of Missouri stood aside, and allowed the Clay county boys of Missouri to vote first and go home.

This memorial declares that

"Hundreds of men came together in the sixteenth district, crossing the river from Missouri the day before election, and encamping together, armed and provisioned, made the fiercest threats against the lives of the judges, and during the night called several times at the house of one of them, for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring in the presence of his wife that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to say that these threats would have been carried out, yet they served to produce his resignation, and give these invaders, in the substitution, control of the polls; and on the morning of the election, a steamboat brought from the town of Weston, Missouri, to Leavenworth, an accession to their number of several hundred more, who returned in the same boat, after depositing their votes. There were over nine hundred and fifty votes polled, besides from one hundred to one hundred and fifty actual residents who were deterred or discouraged from voting, while the census returns show but three hundred and eighty-five votes in the district a month before. Not less than six hundred votes were here given by these non-residents of the Territory who voted without being sworn as to their qualifications, and, immediately after the election, returned back to Missouri, some of them being the incumbents of important public offices there."

I will now, sir, quote what General Pomeroy says of the election in the eighteenth district; and I ask the attention of the Senator from Missouri to this statement:

"In the eighteenth election district, where the population was sparse, and no great amount of foreign votes was needed to overpower it, a detachment from Missouri, from sixty to one hundred, passed in with a train of wagons, arms and ammunition, making their camp the night before the election near Moorestown, the place of the polls, without even a pretext of residence, and returning immediately to Missouri after their work was done, their leader and captain being a distinguished citizen of Missouri, but late the presiding officer of the Senate of the United States, and who had howie-knife and revolver belted around him, apparently ready to shed the blood of any man who refused to be enslaved. All these facts we are prepared to establish, if necessary, by proof that would be considered competent in a court of justice."

General Pomeroy expresses the opinion,

"That not less than three thousand votes were given by these armed invaders, who came organized in bands with officers, and arms, and tents, and provisions, and munitions of war, as though they were marching upon a foreign foe, instead of their own unoffending fellow-citizens. Upon the principal road leading into our Territory, and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one camp alone contained not less than six hundred. They arrived at their several destinations the night before the election, and, having pitched their camps and placed their sentries, waited for the coming day. Baggage-wagons were there, with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field pieces, ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their State."

How very considerate it was, Mr. President, in these "prominent and conspicuous men," with their baggage-wagons, and cannons, and rifles, and drums, and flying flags, to lead the men of Western Missouri over into the forests and prairies of Kansas, to protect the ballot-boxes from those dangerous men, the armed colonists of New England!

Sir, the gentleman from Connecticut wishes to know why the seats of the legislators elected by the Missourians were not contested. I will tell him: Mr. Phillips, a young lawyer of Leavenworth, not himself a candidate, took measures to

have the seat of the member from the sixteenth district contested—and what was the result? He was taken over into Missouri and lynched because he dared, simply on patriotic grounds to dispute the right of the member to his seat into which he had been voted by these armed men from Missouri!

Sir, the whole power and patronage of this Government, from the time when the Kansas and Nebraska act went into operation to this hour has been given to crush out the freemen of Kansas, and to plant the institution of Slavery upon that virgin soil. Read the papers which support the Administration in that Territory, and what do we find? The *Squatter Sovereign* says:

"We hope the Thirty-fourth Congress will be the last Congress that will ever assemble, and that the Southern men coming into Kansas will be prepared to range Kansas in the Southern Republic."

The paper which made that declaration received the patronage and support of this law-abiding, liberty-loving, Union-saving Administration, which the Senator from Connecticut is always the most prompt, the first—and about the only—Senator here to support. [Laughter.]

Sir, I have before me an extract from another of those Union-loving, law-abiding organs of the Administration in Kansas, which supports the law-and-order party there, which we read so much in the correspondence before us. The *Kickapoo Pioneer*—a paper sustained by the friends of this Administration—gives us the following fine specimen of its regard for law and order:

"The South must be up and doing; Kansas must and shall be a slave State. Mark what we say, Southern freemen! Come along with your negroes, and plough up every inch of ground that is at this time disgraced and defaced by an abolition plough. Send the scoundrels back to whence they came, or send them to hell—it matters not which destination; suit your own convenience. Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the Territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds. Strike your piercing rifle-balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts; let the war-cry never cease in Kansas again, until our Territory is divested of the last vestige of abolitionism."

The paper which utters such sentiments is the supporter of the President, and the organ and supporter of the policy which meets so warmly the approbation of the Senator from Connecticut.

The officers of the United States in the Territory of Kansas—the judges, the district attorney, the secretary, and the marshal—are all Slave State men, and their influence has been given in favor of making Kansas a slave State. Governor Reeder, who undertook to protect the people in their legal rights, was stricken down, under the pretence that he had been speculating in the public lands. Of twenty-one officers of the Federal Government in the Territory, nineteen are Slave State men, and one is a Free State man; but already he is marked by Atchison, and another designated for his place. Within the last ten days, men from Kansas have called upon the Executive to remonstrate against this striking down of a public officer, simply for the crime of being in favor of free institutions.

[At this point the honorable Senator yielded to a motion to adjourn.]

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1856.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President—

Mr. GEYER. If the Senator from Massachusetts will allow me, I desire, before he proceeds, to ask him a question. I understood him to state yesterday, upon the authority of General Pomeroy, that a former presiding officer of this body (meaning, of course, my late colleague) had entered Kansas Territory for some unlawful purpose, armed with bowie-knives and pistols. I desire first to know whether General Pomeroy states that on his own knowledge; and then, at what time it was that he is supposed to have entered that Territory thus armed? Will the Senator be good enough to answer?

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I very cheerfully answer the questions submitted to me by the honorable Senator from Missouri. I stated yesterday, on the authority of General Pomeroy, that on the 30th of March, 1855, the late President of the Senate entered the eighteenth election district of the Territory of Kansas, near Moorestown, and that he was armed "with a bowie-knife and revolver around him, apparently ready to shed the blood of any man who refused to be enslaved." And this trustworthy authority adds, "all these facts we are prepared to establish, if necessary, by proof that would be considered competent in any court of justice."

Mr. GEYER. Will the Senator allow me to state my information on that subject?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly, sir.

Mr. GEYER. Mr. President, when that charge was made yesterday, I was not prepared to prove a negative; therefore I did not interrupt the Senator. I have since made inquiries of the Representative in the other House of the district in which General Atchison resides, to ascertain from him whether General Atchison had crossed the borders at that time. He answered, "No; he was not there." I inferred, therefore, that General Pomeroy had given the information upon the authority of some one else, and not of his own knowledge. The only time, so far as I have been able to learn, when General Atchison crossed into Kansas at all during the period of any disturbance there, was the last one which was mentioned in the report read before the Senate yesterday. At that time it was apprehended there would be a serious collision and much destruction of life between those who had collected at Wakarusa and the citizens of Lawrence. At that time General Atchison, together with some two or three other gentlemen—his neighbors—went over for the purpose of persuading those at Wakarusa to forbearance. He counselled peace. That was his errand at that time in the Territory. So much was he indisposed to any collision between the citizens of Missouri, or those who are represented to have been citizens of Missouri, and the inhabitants of Lawrence, that he left his home for the purpose of interposing as a peace-maker. Afterwards, it is true—after the pacification had taken place, as mentioned in the report, and he was about to return home—there was a gallant captain of mounted men at Lawrence who proposed to proceed and

capture him. He was, to the credit of the commanding officer at Lawrence, restrained from doing so. That is the only instance within my knowledge, and so far as I have been able to ascertain from the Representative of his district, when General Atchison crossed the border at all.

Mr. WILSON. I place, sir, the written declaration of General Pomeroy, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with affairs in Kansas, and a gentleman of the strictest veracity, against the statement of the Senator from Missouri. The facts stated in this memorial, drawn up by General Pomeroy, have been published to the world, and never to my knowledge questioned before. That General Atchison entered Kansas at that election, I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt. That it can be clearly established by persons of veracity and character, I am assured by gentlemen now in this city from Kansas.

Sir, I do not wish to do injustice to the gentleman who so recently filled your chair. When Congress assembled, in December, 1854, he was not here; and you, sir, were placed in the seat which the Senate had assigned to him. He came here afterwards, spent a few weeks, and about the 1st of February left the capital for his home in Western Missouri, with the avowal that he went to look after affairs in Kansas, and to organize for the election to take place on the 30th of March. General Atchison was the organizing, moving spirit of that Missouri movement from which all of these unlawful transactions have originated.

I congratulate the Senate and the country, that the honorable Senator from Missouri is sensitive in regard to the position of General Atchison. It is now admitted that there was an unlawful invasion of Kansas by excited and armed men, and that the late President of the Senate left his home in Western Missouri, and passed over into Kansas, and used his personal influence with these men he had once organized, to prevent their imbruing their hands in the blood of the people of Kansas, and making Lawrence a heap of ruins. I congratulate the Senate and the country, that the Senator from Missouri has made the statement to which we have listened. I hope it will go forth to the country, that the late President of the Senate went over to Kansas, not to aid Shannon in executing the laws, but to restrain the men who were threatening Lawrence with swift destruction.

When I yielded the floor yesterday for an adjournment, I was speaking of the election of the 30th of March, 1855. The result of that election was, that the nineteen districts in Kansas were carried by the Pro-Slavery party, and that more than six thousand votes were given in that Territory, where, thirty days before, there were less than three thousand voters.

The question was put yesterday by the honorable Senator from Connecticut, why the Governor gave certificates of election on that occasion? I will simply say, that Governor Reeder, in the cases brought before him, did refuse to deliver the certificates; that he made the refusal in the presence of the men who claimed them, with

bowie-knives and revolvers in their belts, and amidst threats of his life; and while he read the statement he held a cocked revolver in his hand, for necessary self-defence. There were a few devoted friends around him, expecting to see him murdered on that occasion. In the cases not at the time contested, in the cases where at the time no one dared to raise a question, in the cases where at the time a contest was neglected, the certificates were given. A new election was ordered in those cases where the certificates were set aside, and, in pursuance thereof, the people elected Representatives and Senators, and commissions were issued to them. They met on the 2d day of July, at Pawnee, and both branches of the Legislature, without examining the facts, and positively refusing to do so, voted out the men chosen by the people of Kansas, and voted in the men originally chosen by the Missouri invaders. This Legislature, thus chosen, moved the place of meeting from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, against the consent of the Governor, who refused afterwards to recognise it as a Legislature. They went on, and passed the laws which are now brought here. Some of those laws are as inhuman as any code ever presented for the government of a conquered people.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate and of the country to some of those laws forced upon the people who were allured to Kansas by the assurance that they were empowered to shape their own institutions. Here is a precious enactment:

"If any person print, write, introduce into, or publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or innuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves of this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, shall be guilty of a felony, and be punished by imprisonment, at hard labor, for a term not less than five years."

This law, thus enacted, is the law that is to be executed in Kansas, if need be, by the sabres of the United States dragoons. If the men from the free States in that Territory should print or circulate this sentiment, uttered by the President of the United States, on the 1st day of January, 1851, in the Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire—

"—I would take the ground of the non-extension of Slavery, that Slavery should not become stronger." "What one thing is there connected with Slavery that is not obnoxious?"

I say that, if these avowals were circulated in that Territory, the person circulating them might be denounced as circulating a speech that was calculated to excite disaffection among men held in bondage.

If a slaveholder should find in the hand of some one of his bondmen, who may have been taught, in spite of legal prohibitions, to read the ten commandments, the pregnant question of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, "What one thing is there connected with Slavery that is not obnoxious?" Would he not think it at least a dangerous "innuendo," calculated to create "dis-

affection" in the bosom of his slave? And, sir, if in his wrath he should make the discovery that a son of the Granite State had "caused to be circulated" this sentiment of the prominent son of his native New Hampshire, would he not try the virtues to be found in the term of five years' imprisonment? If some slaveholder should find in the hand of his fleeing bondman the speech of the Attorney General of the United States, delivered in June, 1836, against the admission of Arkansas, with a Constitution making Slavery perpetual, wherein I find these sentiments—"I do not persuade myself that Liberty is an evil, or Slavery a blessing." "Shall we be brutishly dumb when it is sought through us to render Slavery perpetual in new States?" "I should be false to all the opinions and principles of my life, if I did not promptly return a peremptory and emphatic No! when called upon to accord my sanction to a form of government which perpetuates Slavery." Would not the slaveholder deem it a "fixed fact," that the man who circulated these sentiments was "guilty of a felony," punishable with five years of imprisonment? Ay, sir, if some son of Massachusetts should be found circulating the resolutions of the Democratic State Convention in 1849, written by Benjamin F. Hallett, then Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and now the President's District Attorney for Massachusetts, declaring that "we are opposed to Slavery in every form and color, and in favor of Freedom and free soil wherever man lives throughout God's heritage"—a pretty broad declaration, that includes Kansas—I say, that if these resolutions, endorsed by Charles G. Greene, the especial favorite of the President in New England, as National Democratic doctrine, should be circulated in Kansas by some son of Massachusetts, he would be subjected to the punishment provided for in this section.

Here is another section of this inhuman statute:

"If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated, in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years."

Here is a law which punishes any freeman as a felon who went into that Territory under your organic law—under your "squatter sovereignty" doctrine—with two years' imprisonment, if he shall circulate any paper that shall "deny the right of any person to hold slaves in the Territory under these laws;" and this is the law which the President of the United States is so anxious to enforce; and this is the law which the Senator from Connecticut congratulates the country is to be enforced!

And, sir, if any person shall be arrested by Governor Shannon for circulating in Kansas any papers denying the right of any person to hold slaves there, this code provides that

"No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

When the Legislature assembled, when it turned out the men who had been legally chosen, when it brought in the men imposed on the Territory by armed invaders from a neighboring State, when it removed to the Shawnee Mission, when it was repudiated by your Governor, sent there by this Administration, then it was that the freemen of Kansas assembled in their primary meetings, and declared against the legality of this Legislature and its acts. A Convention of the People was called. That Convention assembled, framed a Constitution, the People ratified it, and that Constitution is now submitted for the action of the Congress of the United States. The Senator from Connecticut denounces it as a "spurious Convention." Sir, this Convention was the act of the People of Kansas, in their sovereign primary capacity. They accepted the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. They accepted the doctrines laid down by Madison, by Marshall, by Story, by Judge Wilson, by Buchanan and Wright, and the chiefs of the Democratic party in the days when the Democratic party paid some little regard to the principles of popular government.

Sir, the Senator from Connecticut denounced this act of the People as a "spurious Convention." In 1836, the freemen of Michigan, disregarding the action of their Legislature, came together in their primary capacity, framed a Constitution, sent that Constitution to Congress, and that Constitution was carried through the Senate by the votes of Benton, Buchanan, Wright, and the chiefs of the Democratic party; but that was in the days of Andrew Jackson, when it was supposed the people of this country had retained the rights guaranteed to them by the fundamental laws of the country. Sir, Andrew Jackson did not denounce the movement as an insurrectionary one, although they refused to receive the officer whom he sent to them. The Congress of that day did not denounce those men as traitors to the country, as the men of Kansas are denounced in the documents before us, ten thousand extra copies of which we are asked to publish. No, sir, not this is the first time in the history of this country, when the People have assembled in their primary capacity, and exercised their right, their inborn, natural right, to change their Government at their pleasure, and then been held up as traitors by the Government of the country.

Sir, the Democracy in both branches of Congress sustained the doctrines maintained by the suffrage party in Rhode Island; and it so happens that when Governor Dorr took refuge in the old Granite State, among the first who recognized the doctrines which he maintained, was the man who is Chief Magistrate of the United States, and who now denounces the freemen of Kansas, and holds up to the country as violators of the law, men who are, on the 4th of March next, to be arrested if they dare assemble in their legislative capacity, and choose two United States Senators to come and implore us to receive Kansas into this sisterhood of States, and thus save this fair Territory from bloodshed and ruin. Yes, sir, this man, who now characterizes as "revolutionary" what has already been done by the people of Kansas, and warns them that further ac-

tion "will become treasonable insurrection," welcomed Governor Dorr to the capital of New Hampshire, on the 14th of December, 1842, in a series of resolutions declaring, that "when the people act in their original sovereign capacity, they are not bound to conform to forms not instituted by themselves;" that "the day of free Government would never dawn upon the eyes of oppressed millions," "if the friends of Liberty should wait for leave from tyrants to abolish tyranny."

Sir, in pursuing this history, I have followed the order of time. I am now brought to speak of another invasion from Missouri—an invasion which took place on the 1st of October last, when General Whitfield was elected. I state here, on the authority of gentlemen, some half dozen of whom are within the sound of my voice, and who will prove it under oath before your committee, if you will permit them to do so, that hundreds of men went over from Missouri and voted in that election.

The invasion—the fourth invasion of which we have heard so much in these papers from the Executive Department—grew out of the cold-blooded murder of a man by the name of Dow, at Hickory Point, by one Coleman. Mr. Branson and his neighbors took the mortal remains of the murdered Dow from the highway, where he had lain for hours, and consigned them to his last resting-place. The murderer has never been tried or arrested. Branson, with whom Dow had lived, was arrested on a peace-warrant, by Sheriff Jones, and rescued by some fifteen of his neighbors and friends. Then it was that the stories were manufactured, that a thousand men were organized at Lawrence, armed with Sharpe's rifles and cannon, ready to resist the authorities. There were not then more than three hundred Sharpe's rifles in Lawrence, and not one cannon. There was no armed soldiery in Lawrence when these charges were made; there were armed men there, but they were not embodied. Of the men who aided in the rescue of Branson—an act which might take place in any State, at any time, without any Governor thinking of calling out the armed militia, much less the forces of the United States—only two ever lived in Lawrence, and they were not in Lawrence at that time. The reports mentioned in these dispatches, about burning buildings, have turned out to be exaggerated and misrepresented.

On the strength of these reports, however, Governor Shannon sent his letter of the 28th of November to the President, and on the next day he issued that fatal proclamation which fomented, at the time, the invasion from Missouri, and this was followed by his telegraphic dispatch of the 1st of December. Here let me say, that in this letter, proclamation, and dispatch, Governor Shannon shows that he is not a man who comprehends his position or his duties. He was excited and frightened by the reports and rumors he relied upon. During this period, when he ordered out the militia and telegraphed the President, dispatches, founded on rumors, were sent into Missouri; and the result was, that from one thousand to two thousand armed men came from

Missouri into Kansas; and they were incorporated into that "little force of less than four hundred men," spoken of in these dispatches from Kansas, which rallied to the call of the officers of the militia! 'Sir, if the people of Kansas had been with the Governor—if they had sympathized with him in his ill-starred movements—if they had believed that law and order were in danger—would they not have rallied to his support? On that occasion, the arsenal of the United States in Western Missouri was broken open; arms were stolen and carried into Kansas. Nothing is said about this robbery in the reports. Missourians broke open this arsenal, and stole cannon, ammunition, and muskets, for the purpose of going on a marauding invasion; and the late President of the Senate was compelled—so great was the danger—to hasten after them, to keep them from hurting somebody! Yet, not a word is said about it in these dispatches! Sir, if the freemen of Kansas had broken open that arsenal, and had stolen even a gun-flint, you would have had a proclamation from your Governor and your President, and the army of the United States would have been called out to put them down. But it was the organized men of the Blue Lodges in Western Missouri who did it. They have been, and now are, permitted to violate all law with impunity. Woodson, the Secretary of Kansas, urged on these lawless men from Missouri, by assuring them that "there is no doubt in regard to having a fight; and if we are defeated this time, the Territory is lost to the South."

The invading hosts from Missouri encamped on the Wakarusa, within about six miles of beleaguered Lawrence. In marked contrast to the inconsiderate folly of Shannon, was the prudent, firm, and heroic bearing of General Robinson. Throughout the whole contest, his prudence was signally manifested; and, in the opinion of many, the country was saved from bloodshed and civil war by his action. On the 7th of December, your Governor tells you he went to Lawrence; but he does not tell you the whole story. He did go to Lawrence, and he met the Lawrence men, and the Lawrence women, too; and he saw the inflexible determination of the one, and the calm devotion of the other. He told gentlemen who directed the affairs of Lawrence, that they had been misrepresented—that they misunderstood each other; and then, after two days of conference and negotiation, he made a treaty. The first sentence of the treaty acknowledges that the Governor and the people of Lawrence had not understood each other. Here is a man who asked the President for the army of the United States; who ordered out the militia, and incorporates into the militia of Kansas, by the showing of these papers, from one thousand to fifteen hundred Missourians; and then, after doing this, he went to Lawrence—and what did he find? People who flew to arms simply to protect their homes and their firesides against an armed invasion of two thousand men, who were threatening, with oaths, to burn their city, and to blot them out from existence. I say, Governor Shannon made a treaty with General Lane, (known to some Senators here,) and with General Robinson—a man who, I hope, is here—

after to be known to Senators—and this treaty closes with the agreement, on the part of Governor Shannon, that he "will use his influence to secure to the citizens of Kansas remuneration for any damages sustained by the sheriff's posse in Douglas county; that he has not called upon persons residents of any other States to aid in the execution of the laws; and that he has not any authority or legal power to do so, nor will he exercise any such power; and that he will not call on any citizen of another State who may be here." In these negotiations he agreed to waive the question of the validity of the laws of the Territorial Legislature. Then he issued an order to Lane and Robinson to incorporate into the service of Kansas the militia of Lawrence, and directed them "to use the enrolled force for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of Lawrence and vicinity" against the armed men on the banks of the Wakarusa.

Mr. President, this treaty, which Shannon signed, with Lane and Robinson, on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1855, will stand a perpetual confession of his incapacity and folly; this order giving Lane and Robinson authority "to use the enrolled force"—with those famed Sharpe's rifles—"for the preservation of peace, and the protection of Lawrence and vicinity" against the armed bands his fatal proclamation had summoned, will stand a living testimony that the men of Lawrence were the guardians of law. Yes, sir, that treaty and that order will stand a eternal expression, at once of error and repentance.

After signing those evidences of his own humiliation, he returned to the camp on the Wakarusa and then, to the leaders of the crew he had drawn together, proclaimed his truce with the men of Lawrence. Back to their homes in Missouri sauntered these baffled bands of lawless desperadoes, cold, sullen, dispirited. They came to the banks of the Wakarusa, big with threats of vengeance upon the Free State men of Lawrence; they returned with bitter curses upon the imbecile Governor, whose proclamation had drawn them from their homes. General Stringfellow, who pure taste the Senator from South Carolina can vouch for, denounced the treachery of Shannon. Captain Leonard, the leader of one of these gangs of border banditti, through the columns of the *Joseph Gazette*, declares that your Governor "raises a storm, and then to quell it, Judas-like professes his special friendship, first for one party and then, I conjecture, for the other. But, however this may be, he descends to the despicable position of a common liar, both to the one party and the other."

You may search the records of the counts from the settlement at Jamestown to this day, and you can find no instance of such incapacity, folly, and superadded criminality, as Wilson Shannon displayed on that occasion; or such an utter disregard of the rights of the people as was manifested by the border settlers of Missouri. I commend to the consideration of the Senator from Missouri these pregnant questions of the *Louis Democrat*, a paper published at his own home:

"What right had these hordes of border banditti to invade the soil of that Territory, and enlist themselves in support of Governor Shannon? What business had they here? What law or what precedent would justify their interference in the affairs of a free and sovereign Territory? What right had Governor Shannon and Stringfellow to advise, encourage, or countenance their presence in arms, in a Commonwealth of which they were not citizens? Was there ever a more glaring inconsistency, or a more glaring outrage, than that by which Shannon and his minions have sought to overawe and crush a portion of the people of Kansas, by introducing a gang of lawless desperadoes upon their soil, armed to the teeth with weapons obtained by breaking open a United States arsenal? Has the civilized world ever known a more ignominious, raceful, barbarous, and savage spectacle?"

This Administration has now clothed Wilson Shannon—whose incompetency has been made manifest to the world—with the civil and military authority, and with all the power of the Government to execute the laws, and to maintain order in the Territory. The duties assigned this officer, in the present critical condition of affairs on your frontiers, are of the gravest and most weighty character. Sir, your Administration—by theanton repeal of the Missouri prohibition, by the failure to protect the actual residents of Kansas in their rights, and by the blundering acts and criminal remissness of the official authorities—as brought the nation to the perilous edge of civil strife. Sir, this Administration owes it to the country, whose peace is in danger this day, to intrust the responsible and delicate duties of Governor of Kansas to a prudent, judicious, successful statesman—a man of individual honor and personal character, in whom the people can place the fullest confidence. Wilson Shannon is not that man. The man who could descend to thegrading companionship around the gaming tables of those saloons of San Francisco, (described by that experienced traveller, Madame Ida Pfeiffer, as the most dissolute she had ever seen in her tour of the globe,) with Mexican greasers, and escaped convicts of the British penal colonies, and the desperadoes of the Old World and the New—the man who could, while Kansas was overrun by armed bands, summoned around Lawrence by his own reckless letters, dispatches, and proclamations, while civil war lowered over the people intrusted to his care—while an honored citizen, stricken down by the assassin, lay cold in death, and a devoted wife was weeping over the mortal remains, make himself the humiliating object of the derision of his enemies, and of the pity of his friends, by an exhibition of gross intoxication—is not the man to whom the American people would intrust the affairs of Kansas.

I call the attention of the Senate, Mr. President, to another foray over the borders—to the fifth Missouri invasion. I mean the irruption into Kansas on the 15th of December, when the people were called upon to vote upon the Constitution framed by that Convention the Senator from Connecticut is pleased to pronounce "spurious." Along the Missouri border, the people in several of the voting precincts were overawed by threats of impending violence, and meetings were not held. At Leavenworth, the election was broken up by the lawless brutality of men, many of whom had been ordered to Leavenworth on that day, to be formally discharged from service in

the Kansas militia, into which they had been incorporated. At the dinner hour, while most of the people were absent from the polls, these "border ruffians" rushed upon the officers, broke up the meeting, beat to the earth Witherell, the clerk, whose life was saved by the heroic daring of Brown, since falsely murdered, who rushed to his rescue at a moment when the uplifted axe of the assassin was about to descend upon his prostrate form.

On the 22d of December, another foray was made upon freedom at Leavenworth, and the press of Mr. Delahay, which barely escaped on the 15th, was destroyed. Mr. Delahay is a native of Maryland, and has been a slaveholder in his native State, in Alabama, and in Missouri; a man who has little sympathy with Anti-Slavery men. He is simply one of those moderate, conservative men, who believe that "free labor is honorable, and slave labor is dishonorable," and that the permanent interests of Kansas would be promoted by making it a free Commonwealth.

On the 15th of January, the people of Kansas were called upon to elect officers under the Constitution adopted on the 15th of December. Another assault upon the freedom of the ballot-box was made at Boston, by armed men. The people attempted to resist the destruction of the ballot-boxes by these marauding squads that were prowling over the country, insulting the people, and robbing them of their means of defence. Peaceable, law-abiding citizens were hunted down, fired upon, and their lives put in imminent peril. Some of them had to flee to Lawrence, as to a city of refuge, to save themselves from the vengeance of the prowling assassins. A party of these lawless desperadoes captured Mr. Brown—who so bravely rescued Witherell at Leavenworth—and several others, robbed them of their arms, and then, with hatchets and knives, they fiendishly hacked and cut Brown to pieces, flung him in a dying condition into a carriage, and bore him to his home, to breathe out his life in the arms of his distracted wife, another sacrifice to the dark spirit of slave propagandism.

To-day, sir, unless they are on their march, there is arming and organizing in Western Missouri, in the Blue Lodges, in the secret camps, hosts of men for another invasion. Sleepless eyes are upon these movements, organized by Atchison and his subalterns. General Lane and General Robinson sent to the President, on the 21st of January, a telegraphic dispatch. Colonel Lane—a man who trod the battle-field of Buena Vista—a man who knows something of what war is, who knows something of the threats that have been made, and the preparations that are now making, on the borders of Western Missouri, for another lawless invasion of Kansas—has appealed to the President for protection. He is no fanatic. Sir, you cannot call him an Abolitionist, at least not yet.

Mr. HALE. He will be one soon.

Mr. WILSON. The Senator from New Hampshire says he will be one soon. The scenes through which he is passing are calculated to abolitionize men made of the hardest natures. John Quincy Adams once said that a man "has

the right to be an Abolitionist, and in being an Abolitionist he violates no law, human or divine." General Lane may be an Abolitionist; but, sir, he is not one now. On the 21st of January he asked the President to send the military force stationed at Fort Leavenworth to protect the people of Kansas against an invasion which is "organizing on our border, amply supplied with artillery, for the avowed purpose of invading our Territory, demolishing our towns, and butchering our unoffending Free State citizens."

Two days after, on January 23d, General Lane and General Robinson asked the President to issue his proclamation forbidding this lawless invasion of their Territory. The Senator from Connecticut flatters himself that those of us who do not approve the course of the Administration will be greatly disappointed to find that the leaders of the Free State movement in Kansas have implored the Executive to issue his proclamation. Let not the Senator from Connecticut lay the flattering unction to his soul, that we are chagrined by the disclosure of this correspondence. Robinson and Lane, in behalf of the imperilled people of Kansas, asked the President to issue his proclamation immediately forbidding the invasion, which, if carried out as planned, will stand forth without a parallel in the world's history." They did not ask the President for his proclamation against the wronged and oppressed people of Kansas. They asked for bread—the President gave them a stone. They asked for a fish—the President gave them a serpent.

The President, sir, has issued his proclamation, but that proclamation is chiefly and mainly directed against Lane and Robinson, and the liberty-loving, law-abiding Free State men of Kansas. Like his annual message, in which he softly spoke of the long series of outrages you will scarcely find paralleled in the history of Christian States, as "irregularities"—like that special message in which the aggressive acts of the Missouri invaders were covered over with mild and honeyed phrases, and the defensive measures of the actual settlers treated as insurrectionary acts, demanding Executive censure, this proclamation will be received on the Western borders by the men who, by their votes and by their resolves, have dictated law to Kansas, with shouts of approval. Sir, this proclamation will carry no terror into the Blue Lodges and secret clubs of Western Missouri.

But, sir, we were congratulated yesterday by the Senator from Connecticut, that the laws were to be executed and order preserved. I call the attention of the Senate and of the country to the order of the Secretary of War. What does this order say to Colonel Sumner? Does it clearly and expressly command him to arrest, at all hazards, any aggressive movement upon Kansas, from Missouri? The Secretary of War informs Colonel Sumner that

"The President has, by proclamation, warned all persons combined for *insurrection or invasive aggression* against the organized Government of the Territory of Kansas, or associated to resist the due execution of the laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings."

Does the Secretary, then, direct Colonel Sum-

ner to defend Kansas against "invasive aggression?" No, sir, no! The Secretary then issues the orders of the Government to Colonel Sumner in these terms:

"If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceeding and the power vested in the United States marshals inadequate for the suppression of *insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law*, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose the forces under your command."

Sir, this is not a direction to Colonel Sumner to use his forces against the armed Missouri invaders. The Secretary tells the Colonel that if the President has sent out his proclamation against those movements; but when he comes to direct the commander of the force of the United States what to do, he does not order him to use that force, if there shall be an invasion from the State of Missouri. The Secretary shrinks from putting himself against the lawless men who represent a Power in this country that sustains them in their aggressive acts. Sir, the Secretary bends to that Power; he bows to these men who have no "qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National;" and we have had nothing but bows to these men for the last eighteen months, from the other end of the avenue.

The reason why the Government has not used its proper legitimate influences in Kansas; peace, for order, and for liberty, is the same reason which originally snatched that four hundred and fifty thousand square miles of free soil—consecrated forever to the laboring millions of this country—and flung it open to the slave-extended interests.

Sir, I know that men in the confidence of Administration have expressed the idea that Administration intends, if the People's Legislature meets on the 4th of March, to arrest its members the moment they take the oaths of office. It is a well-known fact, sir—known by those who know anything about affairs in Kansas—that they do not intend to pass laws, or interfere any way with the legislation of the country that they intend merely to assemble, state their grievances to the country, and choose Senators to come here, to implore us, in God's name, to carry out the wishes of the people, and allow Kansas to take her place in this Union of Commonwealths. I understand these to be the intentions of the tried and trusted leaders of Free State men in Kansas. You may arrest General Robinson and the leaders of the Free State party; you may imprison them if you will; may shed the blood of the actual settlers of Kansas; but you cannot break their spirits, or crush out their hopes. The people of Kansas are a free State; and if it is made a slave State will be by the criminal remissness or direct interposition of this Administration. Leave the people of Kansas free, uninfluenced by your State officials who have thrust upon them, influenced by foreign interposition, and they bring her here clothed in the white robes of Freedom.

The Senator from Missouri said to us the other day, that the colonists from the East wish

keep others out; that they wished to get possession of the Territory. Armed men, he said, had crossed from Missouri to protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists sent there by the Emigrant Aid Society! Did they protect the ballot-boxes on the 29th of November, 1854, when they went over and gave fifteen hundred votes? Did they protect the ballot-boxes when they marched into Kansas on the 30th of March, with cannon, with revolver, and with rifle, displaced the election of officers, and delivered their hundreds of votes, and, in a place where there were at fifty-three voters, casting over six hundred? Did they protect the ballot-boxes when they went over on the 15th of December, and broke up the meeting at Leavenworth? Did they protect the ballot-boxes on the 15th of January, when Brown was murdered in revenge for standing by the ballot-boxes, and protecting it against them? Sir, men aided to go there by the Emigrant Aid Society have never—no, sir, never—at any time, on any occasion, interfered with the freedom voting.

"Whatever record leaps to light,
They never can be shamed."

Sir, I see that in the South there are movements from all quarters to get up Emigrant Aid Societies. The Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. OWEN,] always frank and manly on these questions, proposes that Mississippi shall send three hundred of her young men and three hundred of her bondmen into that Territory, to plan and shape its future. I say to the honorable Senator from Mississippi, send your Mississippi young men and your Mississippi bondmen; you will never find on the part of the men who went there from the North, under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, one single unlawful act to keep out or rob you of one of your lawful rights. The men who charge the emigrants from the North with aggressions upon the men of other States of the country, utter that which has not the shadow of an element of truth in it; and they know it, or they are grossly ignorant of Kansas affairs. This proposition of the Senator from Mississippi was followed by a letter from a Representative from South Carolina, [Mr. BROOKS,] offering five \$100—one dollar for every man they will send from his section. I say to the Senators from South Carolina, that if the offer of their colleague in the other House is accepted, and if a hundred men go from South Carolina to Kansas, they will never be interfered with in the exercise of their legal rights, by the men who have gone there from New England or from the North.

Atchison, the organizer and chief of those border-movements, thus appeals to the citizens of Virginia to come to the rescue, for "KANSAS MUST HAVE SLAVE INSTITUTIONS, OR MISSISSIPPI MUST HAVE FREE INSTITUTIONS."

He continues:

Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas. Let them come well armed, and with money enough to support them for twelve months, and determined to see things out. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war. Twelve months will not elapse before war, of the fiercest kind, will be upon us. We are now agitating and preparing for it; indeed, we of the border States are prepared. We must have the support of the

South. We are fighting the battles of the South. Our institutions are at stake. We want men—armed men. We want money. Let your young men come on in squads, as fast as they can be raised well armed."

Atchison's Lieutenant, Stringfellow, calls upon the South to come to the aid of Missourians who have dictated law to Kansas, and "can do it again." The *Mobile News* assures the South that Atchison, Stringfellow, and their lawless followers, "have been the only means, under God, of teaching such miscreants as the editor of the *Missouri Democrat* and his Lawrence friends, that the way to the abolishing of Missouri and Kansas is a road of reddest blood for them 'to travel.'"

Sir, to appease the unhallowed desires of the Slave Propaganda, you complied with Atchison's demands, and repealed the Missouri Prohibition. You then told the laboring men of the Republic, whose heritage you thus put in peril, that they could shape, mould, and fashion, the institutions of those future Commonwealths. Animated by motives as pure and aims as lofty as ever actuated the founders of any portion of the Globe, the sons of the North wended their way to this region beyond the Mississippi. These emigrants did not all go there under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, for it is estimated that not more than one-fourth of the settlers of Kansas are from New England and New York; that nearly one-half of the dwellers in that Territory are from Pennsylvania and the Northwest.

Only about one-fourth of the actual residents of Kansas are from the slaveholding States, and many of these settlers from the South, perhaps a majority of them, are in favor of making Kansas a free State. That many of these emigrants from the South are in favor of rearing free institutions, will surprise no one who understands their condition. Most of these emigrants are poor men, and have felt in their native homes the malign influences which bear with oppressive force upon free labor. Thirty-five per cent. of the emigration of the slave States has sought homes in the free States, while less than ten per cent. of the emigration from the free States and from the old world find homes in the slave States, although those States embrace the largest as well as the fairest regions of the country east of the Rocky Mountains.

Coming from fields blasted by the sweat of artless, untutored, unpaid labor—from regions once teeming with the products of a prolific soil, now "exhibiting," to quote the language applied "with sorrow" to his native country, by the Senator from Alabama, [Mr. CLAY,] "the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas"—witnessing the prosperity of free, educated labor, many of these sons of the South meet the men of the North, and stand with them, shoulder to shoulder, in upholding the institutions of Freedom.

Within the Territory, the men of the North and the men of the South meet together in council. Northern and Southern men stood side by side in those assemblages of the people that put the brand of condemnation upon the acts of the Legislature imposed upon them. Northern and Southern men sat in council in that Constitutional

Convention the Senator from Connecticut now pronounces "spurious," and Northern and Southern men stood side by side in the trenches of beleaguered Lawrence.

Leave these men now in Kansas, free from Missouri forays and Administration corruption, and in spite of the inhuman, unchristian, and devilish acts to be found in the past legislation of the Territory, they will bring Kansas here as they have done already, robed in the garments of Freedom. Men of the South, you who would blast the

virgin soil of Kansas with the blighting, withering, consuming curse of Slavery—you, who would banish the educated, self-dependent, free laboring men of the North, to make room for the untutored thriftless, dependent bondmen of the South—vote down the Free State men of Kansas, if you can; but do not send "border ruffians" to rob or burn their humble dwellings, and murder brave men for the crime of fidelity to their cherished convictions.